2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

commercial transaction amounting to the sale of the daughter by the father. Some evidence in support of this view may be found in Zaleskie's statement:[77]

> According to ancient customs a kalym was intended to serve as the dowry of the young wife; today, on the contrary, especially among the poor, it has become the exclusive property of the father who gives to his daughter only a certain number of dresses and household utensils.

It may be noted here that in discussing marriage negotiations and the arrangement of the bride price my interpreter always employed the Russian verb prodavat' (to sell) in relation to the father's disposal of his daughter.

My information indicates that the practice of sending dowries along with the bride to the camp of her husband was largely restricted to the upper classes, though it might sometimes occur in a very modest way among poorer people. The principal feature of such dowries was a kibitka with furnishings for the young wife. She might also be accompanied by maidservants who were slaves. The dowry, including the slaves, was considered the property of the woman, and in case of divorce should be returned with her to her father. Many husbands, however, were not scrupulous about carefully distinguishing between their wives' property and their own. Moreover, from Grodekov's sources it appears that the dowry might be considered as belonging to the husband because in divorcing a wife who has committed no fault "he is obliged to restore to her a part of the goods which she has brought with her at marriage."[78]

Marriage ceremonies, which varied greatly in character and complexity according to the locality and the social status of the families involved, have been described by many authors.[79] My information contributes nothing new to these accounts.

DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE

Marriages might be terminated by mutual consent, at the command of the husband or, in certain cases, at the wish of the wife. According to my informants, however, the dissolution of marriage among the rich was very rare, apparently because of the large amounts of kalym involved and the disputes that were sure to arise over its disposition if the union were terminated. The poorer people were much freer to separate.

The husband might divorce his wife for sterility,[80] adultery, lack of proper respect and discipline and sometimes because he had found her not a virgin at marriage. All of these reasons were sufficient cause for the return of all or part of the kalym which had been given for her. He might also, it appeared, simply refuse to support her and return her to her parents because he found her generally unsatisfactory. In such cases there was always a conflict over the restitution of the bride price. Hence it was to the advantage of the bride's

[77] *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[78] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

[79] Divaev, *O Svadebnom Rituale*, 1–27; Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 101–10; see also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 360–61; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 24; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 477–84.

[80] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

565 kibitka which was the place of honor, If the master required his services and wanted to wake him he would always use his foot and never touch him with his hands.

Here of course we are dealing with the same problem of the nature of the patriarchal relationship which has been previously discussed. It may be remembered that the clients of a rich man, his own more or less distant relatives, working for him for their sustenance only, were yet free to hire themselves to another master for wages. Why they did not do so, or rather perhaps why some of them did so, is a vital point on which it is difficult to get precise information now. Tlenshiev could only say that they were a very "dark" people. The answer probably lies in the decline of uru solidarity. Grodekov indicates[23] that the lot of those who stayed with their own group was probably more secure than of those who went among strangers:

> In strong tribes the poor people migrate with the rich, remaining always with their group for the sake of the protection afforded by the rich, paying for it with labor. Among disintegrating tribes, the condition of the poor . . . grows worse from year to year when they have no strong person to whom they may attach themselves.

And Rudenko says:[24]

> Reciprocity between white and black bones is now evidently not what it was formerly; reciprocal relations have degenerated between wealthy Kazak and their workers.

SLAVERY

567 Slavery existed among the Kazak until abolished at Russian instigation in 1859, but was not apparently a large nor important factor in the culture. At this time it is difficult to obtain accurate information on the subject and references to it in the literature are very scanty.[25] A slave (qul) was usually a war captive but might also have been born into slavery of slave parents, or in some cases have been sold into slavery by his own parents as a result of extreme poverty. War captives were taken not only from foreign, non-Kazak tribes, but also from other Kazak groups, and might be employed as laborers and domestic servants or held for ransom.

My informants said that a man ransomed back into his own group would not be restored to freedom but would continue as a slave among his own people in the service of the man or men who had paid the ransom. Kargabaiev told a story of a hundred men of the Kipchak uru of the Little Orda who had been captured and held as slaves by the Dulat uru of the Middle Orda; they were later ransomed, or rather bought back, by a rich man of their own Kipchak uru and became his slaves. There is perhaps some confusion here. Kargabaiev was uncertain whether they had actually become real slaves in the sense that their

[23] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 16.

[24] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 20.

[25] See Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147; Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 97; Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 60; Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 609–10, 623; Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 357; Jochelson, *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, 130.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

children would also be slaves or whether they were only obligated to work out the price of their ransom in service to their benefactor. It is possible that the patron-client relationship has become confused with that of master and slave. It became clear that if a captive were ransomed back by a group of close relatives he would not be their slave and certainly the son of a rich man would not be one. But there seems to have been no strong obligation on the part of uru relatives to obtain the freedom of a captive. They might ignore his fate, especially if he came of a poor and unimportant family.

Slaves appear to have been the individual property of those who had captured or purchased them and not of any group as a whole. It was not possible to find instances of an entire uru held in bondage by another as occurred among the Mongols[26] although such inter-group relations may have existed in former times. Slaves were employed largely as domestic servants rather than as herdsmen, and female slaves were mentioned as forming part of the marriage dowries of the daughters of rich men.

In times of severe economic distress poor parents might sell their children into slavery, especially boys who brought a good price in the cities to the south. Parents refrained from selling their daughters if possible in the hope that a small bride price might be obtained for them. Asfendiarov[27] says that during the famine of 1733 the Kazak sold their children in large numbers in Khiva, which was the principal slave market for all Central Asia.

Slaves among the Kazak seem to have been well treated. Pallas, who traveled in the region while slavery was actively functioning, says:[28] " . . . ils ne sont ni cruels, ni durs envers lui." Asfendiarov remarks[29] that slaves in general received the same treatment as the lower class of Kazak, were permitted to marry into Kazak families and became rapidly assimilated.

It is uncertain to what extent this assimilation may have been a continuous process through Kazak history. There was probably a slow absorption of slaves into Kazak groups which became much accelerated after the granting to them of technical freedom.[30] Rudenko says[31] that formerly there were among the Altaian Kazak many Kalmyk, Uriankhai, Teleut and Torgut slaves who at the present time are so mixed with the Kazak that it is impossible to distinguish them.

Certainly the freeing of the slaves increased the numbers of the poorest class who, having no cattle and little property of their own, were entirely dependent upon the wealthy herd owners.

THE TELENGUT

Mention is sometimes made in the literature of a group known as Telengut who were the immediate retainers, bodyguards and professional soldiers of the khans. The informa-

[26] See below, pages 83–84.
[27] Personal communication.
[28] *Voyages*, 1: 623.
[29] *Istoriia Kazakhstana*, 97.
[30] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[31] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 205.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

In former times the slaves also formed a numerous group [161 621]
permanent residents among the uru members, except for such of them as might be ransomed or freed for other reasons. Their children would also be slaves of the same owners. Here, in a slightly different status, must be included the slaves and maid-servants who formed part of the dowries of wealthy brides. In the unlikely event of their mistress being sent back to her parents they would perhaps return with her. [567]

In a quite different economic class were individuals who, while not blood members of the group, might own and occupy land for fodder and winter quarters among them.[3] They were mostly rather wealthy cattle owners who were obliged to supplement their hay-fields and to find better or more extensive winter shelter for their herds. In some, and perhaps in most, cases they were related to the uru members through the female line.[4] [233]

Children might be brought up by the mother's group. Grodekov[5] writes: [855]

Children enjoy protection from the mother's tribe when the father's is inactive or absent. In that case when the father is of the tribe of, say, Chumbe, and the child is educated by the mother's tribe, Dzhappac, he is called among them Dzhappac [compare Rudenko's statement above] to avoid coldness of relations . . . [but] no one may belong to his mother's tribe.

Grodekov further indicates that a group may have a legal claim on daughters of its female members by birth:

If a father dies without relatives, the children go to the mother's tribe. The son may choose whether to go or not, and may take up a trade but the girl is obliged to go since they claim her by law.

There is no further light on this point. It seems contradictory to other information.

There might be children other than those whose mothers had belonged to the group adopted by families within it. Usually, however, adopted children were taken from a brother's family, and therefore were by birth uru members. I have no satisfactory information on whether or not they would be considered as uru members if born outside but formally adopted into it. [597]

A wife's kinsmen might in some cases come and live with her in her husband's group. Grodekov says[6] that a widower may go to live with his married daughter, but only with the permission of his son-in-law. One of my informants remarked that if a girl married well into a rich family her own kinsmen might be expected to spend a large part of their time visiting her. [606]

In enumerating the foreign elements resident among the uru group there must also be included the free-lance warriors and the Telengut who served the powerful local chiefs and khans. [701]

All the categories mentioned above were more or less permanently attached to the

[3] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 15.
[4] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 15, 37; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 37.
[6] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 35.

for maintenance. After receiving the bride price or inchi they continued to serve their masters, from whom they received various gains. The former Tulenkut are still servants now, but for pay. The name, in addition, is going out of use. 565

Among the Kirgiz the manap are the best people, descending from a whole line of biis. Yet they do not receive any more honor than all the good people, in general. Manap is not entirely a title of descent. If the son of a manap is worse than the father, wicked or impoverished, then he ceases to be a manap. On the other hand, an upstart from the simple people, even though he be a good person, cannot be a manap. Biis can and could be in the past not only manaps but also non-manaps, without distinction. (1) 565 554 [558]

1. Communication of bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.

The honorable Kirgiz Mulla Asan, a manap himself, communicated the following concerning the manaps:

"Manap is a title similar to the Russian Prince. Not a single manap is descended from the house of Chingiz Khan. Those who stood out from the people (yurtan ozyb), who were outstanding for their bravery and generosity and who commanded the people at times without leadership became manaps. At times of enemy invasions they assembled all the people and those who commanded them (el bashlagan) were those who themselves stood out among the other manaps (uzi ozyb chykkan). They were not elected, but if they began to have elections, they would elect them.

"There are no genealogical registers of the manaps.

"In the Auliye-Ata uyezd now the following persons with their kin are considered to be manaps: I (Mullah Asan Dzhangel-Din), /7/ Kydyrali Nurakov, Shadybek Sarymsakov, Nazar Khangel'diev, Kanai Bekmuradov, Seid Kachkin, Egemberdi Usekov and Irsali Nurav. None of these are related to each other."

There are no Tiuri or Telenkut among the Kirgiz.

The slaves (1) freed by the Russians, have been completely lost. 567

1. The slaves were called kiimdy tugan bala (son, born clothed).

Apparently most of them returned to their native lands. Part of them began to marry Kazakhs, and some became mixed with them by adoption.

• • • •

428 There are no statements about a vacant succession, since no one lives without relatives and friends, who appropriate this property for themselves. In case of some sort of epidemic such property would be stolen (Perovsk uyezd). (1)

[567]

1. Slaves could not possess property or receive an inheritance. A slave and his family who were received in an allotment did not inherit anything. An unalloted adopted slave or his children received a small share of the inheritance. A slave woman was taken by the successor. They might give her something in view of advanced age. If she had a son, /54/ he could receive a part, for example, one-third of the usual allotment or less, depending on the generosity of the deceased or the successor.

[575] Children of concubines who were not adopted did not receive inheritance. The adopted ones received half of what the other heirs received. Communicated by Sultan Daulet Bushaev.

/54/ In ancient times, wergeld which was sentenced to be paid by the deceased was demanded to be paid by his heirs from the inheritance. But if the defendant died before the matter was decided, so that he did not have the possibility of clearing himself, the demand for the wergeld was refused. Now the heir takes part in the payment of the wergeld just as much as all the members of the clan which is paying the wergeld(khundas).

/55/ CHAPTER V.

Conditions for entering into marriage. - Matchmaking. - Oruntoy. - Wedding. - Gifts of the groom to the women. - The procession of the wedding couple to the groom's father.

[583] Entrance into marriage is dependant on the payment of a kalym
582 /bride price/ but not on the majority of the groom and the bride. (1)

1. Among the Alai Kirgiz the betrothal is most often settled when the boy is a year old, and rarely at a mature age. Communication of Grombchevskii. Matchmaking can take place also before the birth of a child.

The rich usually marry their sons when they are 12 to 15 years old, the poor much later, for example at 30 (Perovsk uyezd). In the

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For kidnapping the bride before the full payment of the kalym, from 1 to 3 toguz are exacted in addition to the kalym.

The groom sends one or several animals every year on the account of the kalym, animals which have been raised at home or bought for money he has earned. The bride waits from 12 to 20 years for the full payment but no longer.

If after this the groom acknowledges that he is unable to pay it all, they either forgive the remaining amount and marry the daughter to him, or keep another daughter for him who is younger and can still wait, and marry the other one to another. In extreme cases they give the groom back what has been received from him.

595

According to the Shariat, it is impossible to have more than four wives at the same time. The customary law does not limit the number of wives, for a wife is only a female, urgashi isebinde. /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: Old Kirgiz woman of the Perovsk uyezd./ /85/ The man who has more than four wives lives conjugally only with the four married latest in time. The others become sufi, abstinent, and do not have marital relations (yatpeydi).

According to customary law, the husband of four wives should spend the night with each one in order. She whose turn it is to spend the night with him cooks the food. When there is a disagreement among the wives, the bii divides the dwelling quarters, all the utensils and even the animals (making earmarks) according to the number of wives. If one of them dies without children, the things entrusted to her are divided among the remaining wives (Perovsk uyezd).

The younger wives (tokal, or, more politely, kshi khatyn) show special respect to the oldest wife (baybishe). Otherwise they are all alike. The children of all the wives now have equal rights. [567] The children of slave women were without rights.

According to Umurbek, the baybishe can give orders to the younger wives and their children, if the latter are not greatly loved by the husband. If the children of the tokal are cleverer than the children of the baybishe, then they give them orders.

The agreement of the wives already married is not demanded for marrying another. They weep and wail (yilab syktab yuredi). Their displeasure is expressed in the words: did I not bear you a child, etc. According to another report, they do ask the agreement of the wives.

765

The period of mourning of the widow (idda) lasts 40 days, according to the opinion of some biis, and according to other reports, 4 months and 10 days (for the childless 3 months). A widow or divorcee

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[Not reproduced--A.]

[216 cont.]

with Nurali to make a definitive agreement [216] on the building of the funeral monument, reported that in order to dissuade their khan from approaching the Russian border, the Kazaks reminded him of the conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan and assured him that if the former nomadic residents of these cities had not settled at a fixed place their descendants would still be free today.

time was unable to give a positive answer. As for the site where Abulkhair had been buried, it lacked stone, lime, and construction timber. While these parleys were taking place, more important matters came up in the horde, and the desire felt by the Russian government to satisfy the request of Abulkhair's family grew weaker with time and circumstances. The map and the façade of the funeral monument made by the engineer and sent to Nurali are still preserved in the Orenburg archives though never executed.

To the Khan's joy, Empress Elizabeth's cabinet and the border authorities at Orenburg claimed only one service. This was to give up the Russians who were languishing as slaves of the Kazaks, and he was sent a special letter patent to this effect from St. Petersburg. Nurali and his brothers pledged themselves to satisfy this most just request, but to do so was beyond the limits of their weak power, and the promise was without effect, like the hundreds or even thousands of similar demands and obligations repeated to this day by the border commanders. Nurali had scarcely returned to the auls from Orenburg when he received ambassadors from the Djungarian kungtaidji, who had come in accordance with the proposal made by his father before his death to ask for his sister in marriage for their sovereign, and promised him the town of Turkestan in lieu of kalym /bride price/. It was difficult for him to form this alliance while

[219 cont.] In 1750 he only requested the Orenburg authorities, through his envoys, that the Russian caravans proceeding to Khiva and the dominion of Bukhara should pass through his pasture lands, and he undertook to escort them and defend them. In order to give this proposal greater force, his son, Khan Kaip, sent a deputy charged with bearing assurances of peace and amity and also the request that the caravans be sent by way of the auls of his father. This wish of Batyr and his son could not be fulfilled because it tended to do an obvious wrong to Nurali, who in his capacity as a vassal of Russia and a khan recognized by her was [220] in charge of protecting Russian trade in the steppes between the Ural River and the Syr [Darya] and had already undertaken this task.

It is true that one could scarcely count upon his efforts, but the Sultan Batyr's promises presented still less security in view of his distance from the Russian border. For this reason he was answered that the obligation of escorting the caravans across the lands of the Kazak Little Horde was under the jurisdiction of Nurali, that he could help in this, and finally that he was to live on good terms with Nurali if he wished to enjoy Russian protection.

The envoy from Khiva received a reply from Nepluev which contained nothing decisive but was, nevertheless, very honest.

These measures, without regard to their justice, were based on the benefits to Russia. She had to protect and even augment the power of the khans she had installed or recognized, for their weakness would not produce or even promise any use for her. At that time the Kazak hordes had been numbered among her subjects for nearly 20 years. For nearly 20 years she had been losing money in keeping them peaceful, presenting gifts to the sultans and elders, building forts and maintaining troops. Yet, in spite of all these sacrifices, she had been unable during this interval to protect her borders from pillage, nor even to find a way of rescuing her native subjects from the fetters of a people who had submitted to Russia voluntarily. Abulkhair's excuses as to his lack of power, expressed rather rarely because of his vanity, were regarded as subterfuges, as much because of his knavish character as of his

[274 cont.]
course of these two years fewer prisoners were taken on the border than in the 13 years from 1782 to 1794 (2). Likewise,

2. As proof, we include here the following table for these 13 years. Along the line which extends from the fort of Zverinogolovsk to Guryev, the Kazaks took 34 prisoners in 1782.

21	"	" 1783
176	"	" 1784
175	"	" 1785
12	"	" 1786
2	"	" 1787
43	"	" 1788
53	"	" 1789
90	"	" 1790
34	"	" 1791
40	"	" 1792
60	"	" 1793
42	"	" 1794

in 1786 his subjects released quite a large number of Russians from slavery, up to the time Nurali was banished from the horde after Ufa had been fixed as his place of exile and the detention of his brother Aichuvak at Uralsk. That same year 45,000 tents spent the winter inside the Russian borders and crossed the Ural River again in the spring without permitting the slightest infraction of the peace.

The first effects of the new system of administration of the Little Horde could not fail to be pleasing [275] both to the Empress, who ardently desired to establish order among the Kazaks, and to the supreme commander of the border, who was approaching the goal indicated to him by the advice of his sovereign and who saw the possibility of pleasing her by insuring the prosperity of an entire people. Occupied with these thoughts,

[304 cont.]
565 and the Black bone. The White bone is made up only of khans and
611 their descendants, who have the title of sultans. /305] Zealous
643 Moslems also put in this class the khojas, or descendants of saints
[792] in the Moslem chronicle of saints (1). The name of Black bone

[114]

1. Timkovskii, in his Journey to Peking, gives approximately the same meaning to the word khoja. Klaproth, in his notes to the French translation of this work, opposes Timkovskii's opinion. As for me, I repeat what I have heard many times from Kazak lips.

is used not only for the common people but also for the elders and other chiefs who do not have a hereditary position.

According to this distinction, one says "here is a sultan of the pure white bone," because he is descended from a khan in both the male and female line, and "this man is of mixed white bone," because his mother is of common descent.

[554] Thus one finds among the Kazaks the hereditary distinctions to which so much value is attached in Europe. Savages know how to take pride in services rendered by others, as we do, and to claim privileges as a recompense for the merit of their ancestors.

565 We do not place the Telenguts, or servants of the khans (2),
● 567

[728]

2. The Telenguts are of Mongol origin but were subjugated by the Kazaks and have adopted the language of their masters. See on this subject, Klaproth's note in his Magasin Asiatique, vol. I, p. 19.

in a special class, nor the kuls, or slaves. The former are accepted among the people and enjoy the same rights, while the latter are considered as chattel or merchandise and are not Kazaks. These are the Russian, Persian, Kalmuk, and other prisoners.

/214 cont./

000 character for only a small part of the population.

461 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not hire themselves out for work
464 that requires considerable effort in physical labor. Impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/ (dzhetak /or djetak/), however, make up the main contingent of laborers in the metallurgical and agricultural undertakings of the region and are preferred to Russians, being cheaper and stronger workers.

574 The social life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is well developed, but it amounts to feasts, journeys, and entertainment. The various family events and celebrations are always accompanied by a feast for the entire village and even for the nearest villages, endless recounting of news, games among the young people, and songs of the "olengchi."

565 The social organization of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ can be
571 called democratic, since the ancient sultan clans (Valikhan,
[614] Ablai /or Ablay/, Bukey, and others) and the hadjis (the descendants of Mohammed) enjoy no special privileges, even though they are considered the secular and spiritual aristocracy. Their
• 569 influence on the people is considered insignificant. Slavery (a slave is called "kul") existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in earlier times (to the middle of the 19th century), being created by the political life of that time (the frequent internecine wars between tribes and wars with neighboring peoples -- the Bashkir, Kalmyk, etc.). Also, at the end of the 18th century slavery
[175] was legalized by the Russian government. In the fortresses of Yamyshev and Semipalatinsk slave trading existed for a long time from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, and the Russians also acquired them as a labor force. The first attempt to limit slavery was made in 1822, with the formation of Kirghiz /Kazak/ okrugs. According to the law of that year all the slaves from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ were to remain with their owners, but the acquisition of more was strictly forbidden. The situation of the slaves was hard, as it was for the peasants of Russian landowners. The owners disposed of their life and death, without bearing responsibility for it. A whole group of people, called Tiulengut /Tyulengut/ (usually impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/),

/214 cont./

567 who were the servants or the suite with which eminent sultans and entire rich clans surrounded themselves, constituted a special kind of voluntary slavery. These people considered themselves independent of their patrons, but their long residence with the latter gave the patrons cause to declare their rights over them, as over slaves. The misunderstandings with the Tiulengut and [175] the hard position of the kul continued until 1859, when, on the proposal of the Governor General of Western Siberia, the sultans, biy, and elders of all the okrugs decided to free their slaves. From this time on the latter became free Kirghiz /Kazak/. According to the official figures, 400 persons were freed in the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts, but this number is far below the actual number of former slaves.

566 But if official slavery has disappeared among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it continues to exist in fact in a no less onerous form of economic slavery -- bondedness. In many nomadic villages one may meet poor Kirghiz /Kazak/ -- dzhetak (lying down, i.e., without livestock /215/ for a nomadic life) -- who live in the position of a worker without hours or pay for rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. Their position is extremely hard. They do every kind of work for a piece of bread and pitiful old clothes. They have no hopes of somehow working it out and saving in order to begin an independent life, since the master always considers the dzhetak a [184] debtor, although the debts are usually fictitious. This system is especially noticeable among the Irtysh Kirghiz /Kazak/. In every Kazak /Cossack/ settlement one can find dzhetak seeking shelter among the mud huts and stalls in the Kazak /Cossack/ yards and leading a pitiful life. For this the dzhetak usually does all the farm work for the Kazak /Cossack/ and often binds himself and his family. [434] In the best cases he receives five to ten rubles for the winter.

423 Economic inequality has long existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being conditioned to a considerable degree by the abnormality of the forms of land ownership. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ own lands by the right of seizure established by customary law. /Illustration appears here./ A great inequality

121 reasonably be expected to persist over time and which indicate probable vulnerabilities to psychological warfare.

COMMUNICATIONS

Because psychological warfare depends ultimately upon the ability to communicate, the existing patterns and facilities for communication have been given considerable attention in the report. These data are concerned not only with radio communications, literacy rates, and similar factors of importance in communicating from a distance, but also with motion pictures and book publishing, which are important during consolidation operations. Such scanty data as are available are given on the distribution of ethnic groups in the republic as a whole and within cities, a matter of importance in helping to define the limits of informal or word-of-mouth communication. Even more scanty, but highly important, are the few available indications of the direction and amount of uncontrolled flow of Turkic peoples back and forth between the USSR and Afghanistan, Iran, and other countries.

COLLECTIVIZATION

181 221 Among the many characteristics of Kazakh culture which have stood in the way of successful adaptation to Soviet policy, their centuries-old dedication to a life of pastoral nomadism has consistently created the most acute problems—problems which became disastrous for the Kazakhs during the collectivization drive of the 1930's. For generations [833] the Kazakhs had led their flocks of sheep and goats in a yearly round between winter and summer grazing areas, traveling in bands whose [621] members were united by bonds of kinship and led by the senior men. Like so many nomads they were proud of their way of life and viewed agriculture and the sedentary life it implies as both unmanly and degrading. The small amount of farming which was occasionally done was [462] performed by women, who have always occupied a subordinate position in [564] Kazakh society, and by slaves and the poor. [567]

The determination of the Soviet regime to settle the Kazakhs, along with the other peoples of the USSR, on collective farms met with resistance and cost hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs their livelihood and 198 their lives. The net loss in Kazakh population in the period 1926-1939 amounted to almost one million; if one takes into account the normal [161] increase otherwise to be expected during this time (based on figures for the USSR as a whole) the figure is closer to one and a half million.

Some compromises were made during the later phases of collectivization, but the basic conflict remains and manifests itself in a number of different ways. The Kazakhs are among those affected by a plan for massive cultural change which the Soviets believe will eventually create a society uniformly organized in accordance with "socialist reality." Thus far, however, cultural change in Kazakhstan has failed in many ways to proceed according to plan.

descent which unite the Kazakhs as a people also divide them into aristocrat and commoner, noble and subject. There are three identifiable social classes, aristocrats, commoners, and slaves. (The slaves are an important class in traditional Kazakh society, but are not central to the discussion here.) At some point in history, the senior descent line segregated itself from the other lines and achieved aristocratic status. The head of the senior family of the senior descent line is the Khan of all the Kazakhs—so goes the theory of Kazakh kinship and social organization.

These aristocratic descent lines formed the ruling strata of the hordes, the clans, and of all Kazakhdom when they were united. From their ranks came the khans and lesser leaders (sultans, begs, and clan chiefs) by right of first-born descent. Hordes were ruled by descent lines, clans by aristocratic lineages.

The supreme ruler of the Kazakhs, when there was one, bore the title of Khan. Sultans in Central Asia are of lower rank, the equivalent of princes. The Kazakh domain, when split, divided into a number of principalities whose rulers were sultans, even though some of them dared to assign themselves the more grandiose title of khan. A sultan was rarely a sovereign or independent ruler. The begs and clan chiefs were sometimes identical, but the beg was a local leader whose region varied in scope; it might be no larger than a village or a group of villages, or it might be larger than a clan.

Kin villages and families likewise had their individual patriarchal leaders. The lineage, however, is a different type of organization. It did not have a chief or center of patriarchal authority unless it was small enough for all its members to live in one large kin village; yet it could be so large as to be identical in size with a clan, in which case it would be ruled by a clan leader. The primary function of the lineage was to serve as a marriage unit, the genealogies once again providing the basis for the practices adopted. Kazakh boys and girls could not marry if they had a common male ancestor in the seventh generation; with kinship in the eighth degree or higher marriage was permitted. The genealogy traced back to the seventh ascending male ancestor is the smallest lineage of the Kazakh. The lineage is a unit of varying scope, depending on the function involved; the lineage for marital purposes comprised seven generations, the genealogy memorized by an individual many times that.[1]

Each clan had a distinctive manner of marking the ears of or branding its livestock to differentiate the stock from that of other clans. However, the clan was not the property-owning unit. The clan leader might step in and make a decision regarding a pasturage or head of cattle in dispute between two villages, for the judicial authority rested ultimately in his hands; his decisions might appear biased in his favor, but he could not permanently dispose of pasturage or stock which was not his own, even though it bore the brand or earmark of the clan he led. Similarly, until collectivization, the village authority rested in the hands of a village elder who served as a judge, but rarely could the judge dispose of property which was not his own.[2]

[1]Grodekov, 1889, p. 27; Alkyasarin, 1870, p. 104.

[2][For footnote see cat. 116, f. 41 - ANALYST.]

biological progeny, or on the fusion of two descent lines, which is more complicated. According to this process, one village or lineage or clan may leave its ancestral camps and pasturages and request admission into another. The host clan agrees, accepts the newcomers not as guests but as kinsmen, and gives them a fictional genealogy and fictional kinship relations. These relationships have both religious and social significance.[1] In religious terms the fictions are needed to make the guests acceptable to the local and ancestral spirits; in social terms, these kinship relations are the social relations—or at least they were until recently, and they still exert a strong influence today. A fusion of two descent lines in this manner results from fission or cleavage within one descent line; this fission may be caused by quarrels between two leaders, or by loss of herds which may cause a kinship group to break up, leaving one segment to seek admission into another group.

Fictional kinship extends also to slaves. A certain amount of slavery existed for debt or for punishment of criminals, but most of the slaves, who were never a numerous group, were captives taken in feuds and wars.[2] Such captives did not remain slaves long, as a rule; they were either put to death, or freed and accepted into the civil life of Kazakh society. If freed, they were given a fictional kinship status which soon became blurred over and indistinguishable from the rest of the society.

These are in broad outline the traditional patterns of Kazakh society. They must be borne in mind in order to understand many of the ideological and doctrinary battles between Moscow and the Kazakhs, especially Kazakh leaders.

FAMILY AND VILLAGE LIFE

The Kazakh family is by nature an extended family, composed of a man, his wife or wives, his sons and their wives and children, and his unmarried daughters. If the family is rich, it may also have further kin, both married and unmarried, who are poor and maintain themselves by working for the rich. The rich family may also contain servants who are not directly related at all, and finally slaves. The typical households, however, consist only of close kin.[3]

The authority in the family is patriarchal, resting ultimately in the hands of the father or the eldest of several brothers.[4] The authority passes from father to eldest son, or if there is no son, to the eldest surviving male of the immediate family, such as a brother or nephew. The authority of the patriarch is extensive—over women and children it is all but absolute—but it is subject to certain limitations. If it is noticed that a father is squandering his patrimony in idleness or frivolous undertakings, the village elders may remonstrate with him, and

[1] Rudenko *et al*, 1930, pp. 59-60; Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 291-292.
[2] Levshin (85), 1840, p. 330.
[3] Kharuzin, 1889, pp. 107-108; Izmaylov, 1897, pp. 1-2.
[4] Valikhanov, 1904, p. 286.

[Great Horde]

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642 The structures larger than the clan must be set aside as of a different order than the smaller units.

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178 The clan, too, can only be touched on briefly, because it faces two ways from a structural point of view. It is of moment to analyze it, albeit summarily, because it throws light on certain general features of consanguinity and affinity in the steppe society. But it was at the same time a social unit of a different order than the lineage, the village, or the family. By the 19th century, especially the latter part, it was moribund; it was rooted in the past, and was in a real sense the anvil upon which the structure of the state [565] was hammered. It was in fact a state in minuscule, with •[567] a ruling stratum, the nobles, and subordinate strata, [795] the commoners and slaves. There was a religious cleavage in slave-making; within Islam, the Kazakhs were Sunnite in belief; they took slaves among the Shiite Moslems, Lamaist Kalmuks, and Christians.[69]

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182 Certain structural principles which the clan shares with other Kazakh descent groups have been discussed above; among them are its corporate character, the

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[69] Levchine, 330. While their religion was dominantly Islamic, specifically Sunnite, there were also important elements of Manichaeism and of shamanism among them. The latter doctrinary forces, however, corresponded to no pattern in their loyalties or enslavements. In general, Islam was a late and superficial feature of Kazakh religion and culture.

[Altai Kazakhs]

613 would also be known by the name of the Karatai sŏŏk with which they have been fused. These Argun sub-lineage members form an exogamic unit, offering daughters as wives to other sŏŏk of the Karatai byr top and receiving wives in turn. Again, sub-lineages were formed by descendants of slaves taken from the Torguts, the Kalmuk, the Uriankhai, the Teleut, now fully incorporated. Thus, another sŏŏk of the Karatai was the Sunar sŏŏk, descended from a slave named Sunar captured from the Kalmuk.[267] Lineages may extend their membership, incorporate members of other corporate entities, whether Kazakh lineages, hordes, or non-Kazakh nomadic groups such as the Kalmuk, including the admission to lineage membership of the line of freed slaves; the numerical significance of this principle is not to be underestimated because of the large proportion of people taken in war, raid, etc., and set free to dwell among the captors. Lineage fusion, individual adoption and admission of freed slaves are means, other than through birth, of extending the lineage rolls.

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The Aul of the Altai Kazakhs

621 Data on village life of the Middle Horde Kazakhs of the Altai are remarkable for their detail. The nomads

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[267] Rudenko, op. cit., 59-60.

628 At the present time these internal quarrels have almost all been ended, or, to be more precise, they cannot break out in the old form because the Russian forts and the Russian authorities prevent it. So the word baranta has gradually received a somewhat different meaning. Now it means either simply robbery, or else banditry, which is prosecuted very severely by the Russian authorities.

567 In earlier times the Kazakhs had slaves from all the surrounding nations of different religious faith. Even Moslems, - Shiites, e.g. Persians, who were considered heretics, were taken as slaves. Finally, since the religious principle is very weak among the Kazakhs, they took practically everyone who fell into their hands as slaves, without making a refined analysis of their trend of thinking. Now with the installation of Russian authority slavery on the steppe has gradually disappeared.

771 Religious instruction. The Kazakhs, as we know, are Moslems, and are usually considered Sunnites, although this is absolutely without foundation since, broadly speaking, these people are very undeveloped at the present time in regard to religion, and do not know themselves exactly to what religious sect they belong. Most Kazakhs have only a vague idea of the existence of two Moslem sects, Sunnite and Shiite. Not only that, the actual essence of the religion is completely unknown to them. This is probably explained partly by their nomadic form of life, and partly by the fact that they have lived and live still surrounded by peoples of various religions: Christian, Moslem and pagan, who are all equally antagonisti